FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism Is an Inevitable Consequence.

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FROM LIFE.

I see the lines of grace
Upon her faded face,
The trace of beauty on her wrinkled cheek.
I see she was once fair,
But poverty and care
Have crushed her beauty's bloom, and made her weak
I see her youth again
Beneath the sea of pain
That covers her and her forgotten days.
I know she was once proud,
But now, the blythed cloud
Of care obscures her pride with life's fast-waning rays.

BASIL DAHL.

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THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The following is an address delivered by Victor E. Southworth before the Socialist Labor party of Denver, Colo., on Jan. 14:

The social revolution will not be announced by some officially appointed representative. Its coming will not be with the gentle, evenly-measured "tick, tick," of the clock. It will be in a moment when we least expect it—like a thief in the night, or rather like a flash of lightning out of the clear sky. You cannot hasten its coming, and you cannot escape its coming. It is the outburst of secret forces. Nature lies in ambush waiting to avenge herself upon the inhumanities and stupidities of men. Society has been misguided into a path of dangers. The road leads to an abyss. It is the unexpected that must happen. Civilization goes sauntering on with its gay and self sufficiency—indifferent to aught but its own cunning and comfort—suddenly its pace is slackened. Its pathway, though seemingly unobstructed, is not so easy to travel. It finds the soft yielding earth in place of the firm macadem. A few steps and it begins to sink. A doubt is suggested; the doubt grows into fear; the coward turns pale; the gay arrogance is forgotten. "May it not be, is it not, it is—it is the quicksand." There is no use to try, then, to turn back. No use, then, to adopt some new expedient. No use, even, to cry for help. The social revolution will be a quicksand that will obliterate the evils of a false civilization, root and branch. What is false at heart cannot forever hide the truth. The poison may be very minute—concealed in some most innocent confection; you may taste only the sweetness; you see no harm in it; another mouthful and still another—how pleasant; but it means death. Some things that are very violent are not foreseen. A slight twinge of pain, and the healthy man pays no attention to it. He rises, takes breakfast as usual, hastens to the office, picks up the morning mail, or starts to pick it up, and falls dead—only apoplexy or some unforeseen heart trouble, but he is dead all the same.

Society has a weakness of the heart or of the head or both; the disease has only begun to be painful. "An occasional dose of politics," say some. "Or a little bleeding in the name of charity," say others. "Take a summer's outing; go hunting new markets for your superfluous products in the Philippines or in South Africa and you'll be all right," says another. And so with a possible change in the diet, or with this or that sugar-coated remedy to quiet the pain, society goes on and the disease goes on.

It is evolution that all of a sudden turns into revolution. It is evolution in the wrong direction. It's a runaway, a turn in the narrow road, a steep declevity and a thousand feet of mountain wall to mark your final resting place.

It is not at all necessary for us to blow with our weak lungs into a Chicago conflagration. The fire can burn well enough when the wind is high and there's plenty of dry fuel. Modern civilization is a first-class explosive. No need of nitroglycerine. Save your dynamite to clear away the ruins.

About the most important thing a revolutionist can do is to keep out of the way so as not to ob struct the natural course of events. Let the mad system which now prevails destroy itself—as it is sure to do.

I have seen very aged and decrepit people so carefully nursed that they lived long after their proper time to die. That would be an unfortunate policy to adopt with the present system of society. It is not necessary to do the poor creature any actual violence; but, for heaven's sake, don't prevent its natural demise. I deplore the shortsightedness of the people who are trying to ease the pain and to palliate the evils of our diseased social system. I have no remedy to offer by which what ought to die may be for a time kept alive.

There have been several so-called "revolutions" already—and they have proved to be mere makeshifts. The transformation from monarchy to democracy that took place a hundred years ago on this continent has been named "the revolution." It was believed that great good would result from that glorious contest for liberty and political independence. If ever in the world's history a great movement was in the hands of capable men that was. A noble array of statesmanship and heroism presented itself. There was plenty of plucky fighting and endurance. There was splendid oratory and some magnificent discussion of rights and duties. A declaration of independence was fulminated—nothing more radical and radiant in all literature. But what came of all that so-called "REVOLUTION"? The new government was the old government in a new dress. The evil which our forefathers sought to escape by the overthrow of kings was reproduced with added virulence by the enthronement of delegated power. It is an open question whether, if we must choose between a George-the-Fourth mouarchy or a Mc-Hanna republicanism, we had not better choose the former.

It may be justly stated that the American revolution, in the light of the century that is ending, was little better than a leap from the frying pan into the fire. Let us have no more half-baked revolutions. A thing that is false to begin with cannot be made true however you try to fix it up. I say with the men of 1776, "Down with kings," but I add, "Down with any substitute for kings."

No change of government, no reconstruction of the State, can ever do more than mollify for a time the pain of evil man must suffer. If I have some sort of a cancer eating into my life, the surgeon must cut it out. A quick deep thrust of the knife, and the agony of a moment, is better a thousand times than lingering torment. The change from one form of tyranny to another form of tyranny may be an agreeable change for a time, but I prefer to cut it out.

What is the cause of our present social chaos? Why do men suffer from poverty, from anxiety, from strife, envy, hatred and crime? Why is life such a bitter struggle? Why do men trample upon their fellow men? Why merciless monopolies and the madness of an inhuman industrial system? How quick the answers come! "Private ownership of land, that's what's the matter." "Give us public ownership of street railways and the water plant, and it will be all right." "We want direct legislation and then we can make laws for everything to suit everybody." "The trusts must become the people's trust. No more millionaires. Give us the universal collectivity." And so it goes, but one and all agree to "preserve the government." "The king is dead, long live the king! The monarchy is overthrown, now give us the republic. The republic is rotten, now give us State Socialism. But we must have the State, Socialism or no Socialism." Such is the people's cry. The country, "our country;" we must keep alive the sentiment of patriotism. "Down with arnica."

Somewhere in the Bible it is written "and the stone that the builders rejected shall become the head of the corners." "The first shall be last and the last shall be first."

The social revolution cannot be hastened and it cannot be escaped. The people may stop to try some more experiments with "government." It is necessary, I suppose, that they should become convinced by actual experiment. The machine doesn't work. It never has worked. There is something wrong with the machine. Take it to pieces and put it together. That's history. Change the wheels around. In place of that big king wheel put in a million little voting wheels. That's the American Revolution. But it doesn't run. There is too much friction. Here are some newly discovered lubricators. Oil it up. Single tax, direct legislation, State control of the means of production—that's right—oil up the machinery.

What then? After all the experiments that can be suggested have been tried you have still a machine for doing what? You ought to have asked that question in the first place. By and by the people stop to ask why they have a governmental machine. Not what kind of a government but why any government? About that time there will be a lot of old isms thrown out on the rubbish heap. What's the good of tinkering away at a machine for which we have no use?

I am told that evolution is sure to untangle every snarl. I am told that the wheels of progress turn by themselves. I am told that the elements of a perfected social life are already at work under present conditions. I am told that the advent of trusts is the beginning of the end. The monopolists have overreached themselves and are signing their own death warrant. I am told that there never has been a mistake made in history. The rise and fall of empires was necessary. It could not have been otherwise. Society had to pass through each and every stage of political experiment. I am told that there is only one outcome to the present conditions. But they disagree, of course, as to what that outcome will be. But, in spite of all that I am told, I can't help believing that humanity has taken a very roundabout way to get there. To get where? To get back where they started.

Civilization was too much of an undertaking. You can't stretch a small boy into a man. You can try it. There will be a good deal of fuss and pain. And there'll be a dead boy. But you find out that natural growth is better than forced development. The one radical wrong by which human happiness has been destroyed lies in the idea that nature and man are antagonistic; that nature is at war upon man, and that man must organize into institutions to protect himself from his own depraved nature. He must have religion, sacred performances, priests—that's the first stop. The next step must be back to what he was, or on to govern-

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

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ment. Out of priestcraft grows the love of power and authority and the desire to rule. The desire to rule knows no limit. Human history, from the beginning of civilization onward, is a record of man's attempt to rule or ruin. There is nothing new in the way of government that has not been attempted or that will not be attempted. Those who rule and those who want to rule will fight on until those who won't be ruled arrive.

Humanity will discover, sooner or later, that there is nothing radically wrong in human nature; that men are not born cutthroats and thieves; that there is no need of putting man into a cage; that the worst thing you can do with a man is to rule him, or rather to make him a ruler.

The only social revolution that will satisfy the living and growing demands of human nature will be out of government into liberty.

There is no other alternative. It is not in the nature of men to be one another's masters. To be under "authority," to have one of your own kind raised upon a pedestal, to be yourself an underling, is what no strong nature can submissively endure. Man was not born for servitude. But that is not the worst of it; the existence of government means the exercise of force, of compulsion, of power over others. Someone must exercise this power. Who shall it be? And what effect will the possession of power to rule have upon the rulers? History makes but one answer to this question. It is not in human nature for a man to rule over his fellowmen without becoming brutalized himself. You can make what you please of human nature, but you can't get rid of it. To elevate a man into a place of special authority, to make him ruler, is even more debasing than to degrade him into a state of abject servitude. The most cruel and brutal specimens of the genus homo that we can find any record of have been among the ruling class. The Torquemadas, the Neros, the iron-handed czars, the trained bloodhounds of war called "soldiers," the modern watchdogs of private property called "Pinkerton men" and "police," the monster Bonfield, for example. Find me anything more typical of inhumanity than such specimens if you can.

The possession of power to rule means almost inevitably the abuse of that power. If this alone was the only argument against the existence of government it would be a sufficient condemnation of the system. The uselessness of it, the utter wastefulness of government, is, however, the supreme objection. Why allow the existence of a totally useless institution? If it could be shown that humanity was dependent for its healthy development and its happiness upon being governed—but it cannot. If men were actually born ruffians and cutthroats; and if only a few who were born wise as Solomon and meek as Moses were to be placed in control of the brigands—but it is not so.

Governments are the schoolmasters of violence. They train men for war. In the name of the State the individual becomes an armed desperado. You could not have organized a single regiment of private citizens to go on a man hunt into the Philippines had it not been for the pretext of patriotism. However vicious a man may be he needs but the apology of "our national honor" (?) and his audacity knows no bounds.

If, as they say, men are not fit to be without government, who, then, is fit to form the government? The very means they adopt to keep men from destroying one another becomes the most destructive of all agencies. What wars could have been carried on by lawless men to equal the ceaseless carnage the State has cost? What brutalities under liberty could surpass the evils of a political campaign? Look at Kentucky today. How could free men be more incited to do one another all manner of injury?

I fear no refutation when I say *the State is the incarnation of violence.* The most useless of all quarrels are political quarrels. The most relentless of all enmities are born of the jealousies and rivalries of competing parties and opposing governments.

The State exists by virtue of the very brutalities it is supposed to prevent.

The mischief of government is of such a nature that it can stand only by becoming more crafty than its enemies, more violent than those who use violence against it. It is a standing provocation. Assuming that men are wild beasts it becomes a monster. The appeal to force is bad if it be the force of one man against the State; but the force of the whole State against one man that is excellent. Robbery is evil if it be a starving man stealing a crust; but if it be a whole nation stealing half a continent it is the glory of an advancing civilization.

What think you of this idea born in the brain of such a peaceable Quaker as Count Tolstoi? "There has long existed, and still exists, a terrible superstition which has done more harm, perhaps, than the most awful religious superstitions. The superstition I speak of is similar in every respect to religious superstitions. It consists in the affirmation that, besides the duties of man to man there are still more important obligations to an imaginary being. In theology the imaginary being is God, and in political science the imaginary being is government."

Do away with this superstition that man is a monster and must be made to obey "the government" and the social revolution is accomplished.

Let men be disenchanted. Let them see that nothing is to be more feared than that fear out of which governments grow and on the existence of which and by appeals to which they endure. We are not born to fight. The desire to rule is not man's true impulse. Self trust is more than legal rights and the protection of armed police. Let the idea that fear of punishment is all that keeps humanity from destroying one another perish. It is a lie and there is no truth in it. Out of our mean distrust of human nature grows that appeal to violence which is the pretext on which government exists.

When the social revolution comes and is complete, and the citizen stands on his merits, and each man is a law unto himself, and the rights of each man are seen to be coextensive with his duties to all other men, then will there be a possibility of human advance out of commercialism into Free Socialism; out of strife and fear into peace; out of poverty into a life of quiet and simple comfort for all. But do not prolong the existence of man's power to rule his fellow man by any semblance of government. The good that man needs must be the work of his own hands. The truth that will make us wise must be freely accepted. Nothing can ever avail to lift and lighten human lives if it be forced upon them. What we freely desire and accomplish will be more than all the benefits that can be bestowed.

Do not think to rebuild the machine of government so as to turn out easily a world of strong and just men. Strength and justice and whatever enters into a real manhood are not to be turned out by any machine process.

The history of man's attempt to rule his fellow men is the gloomiest, most hopeless thing in life. Whatever gain has been made was made in spite of the formalities of courts and parliaments, and not because of them. Man's chief reliance is himself. There is no substitute for man's free and independent action. Nothing to be gained by shutting the door and shoving the bolt. Association of man with man can only accomplish good when it is a free and cordial association. Ambitious persons who have schemes for promoting their special interests at the expense of others—men who want power if for no other reason than to make a display of their superiority are the enemies of society. There are no superior persons who are entitled to set themselves up as lords and masters of the people. Only the unscrupulous egotist thinks himself qualified to exercise control over his kind. There never would have been any government if there had not been men ready to take advantage of their fellow men. No one goes out as a philanthropist to mount a throne or to be appointed governor. You can't help man by placing yourself above him and by issuing commands and threats of punishment. Real help from man to man can be given only on terms of equality. Where there is false pride and haughtiness on the one side and humility and dependence on the other there can be no real help. Men are to meet on equal terms and to give and take without condecension and without servility.

Liberty lives only where there is self-respect, and mutual self respect. The social revolution must be of such a kind as to preserve each man's self respect. The new world must rest upon equality and fraternity—without any superstitous support whatever. The final reliance and authority must be found for each man in himself. And not until then can any social action be of real benefit.

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"ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM."

Comrade Byington in last Liberty, continuing his essay "What Anarchism is Not," says: "I once tried to argue the property question in a Communist paper, and asked how it would be in an Anarchist-Communist society if one group of workers was making whiskey for drinking, and another group, holding the prohibitionist faith that the presence of a stock of alcoholic beverage is a bad thing, made a point of carting it off as fast as produced and making it all into varnish at once to prevent its being drunk. I asked whether there would be anything contrary to Anarchist-Communist principles in their action; if so, what; and what could, in conformity with Anarchist-Communist policy, be done to stop them. My respondent, J. H. Morris, promptly and frankly dodged the questions, and I must wait till I get the answer before I shall know just what Anarchist-Communism really means."

After reading our friend's article I came to the conclusion that that "what Anarchist-Communism really means" was far clearer to him than "What Anarchism is Not." If Comrade Morris dodged his questions he did so believing them too absurd to consider, or that his limited leisure could be better employed writing for those who read to learn rather than to criticize. It is very easy to make an argument on an assumed condition; the more impossible the condition, the better the argument.

Passing the absurdity of groups of protection in an Anarchist-Communist society, only paralleled by the Pope of Rome acting in a Methodist Church, I would answer his question by saying, there is nothing in our philosophy to prevent whiskey being converted into varnish. If it was being done simply to prevent the whiskey being drunk, each individual wanting whiskey could easily manufacture his own. It would be far cheaper than hiring a force of police to protect a group in manufacturing it. It may be that Byington wanted to carry the idea that a great deal of whiskey would be required in an Anarchist-Communist society. But let me assure him that liberty is a condition under which whiskey drinking never thrives,—it does far better under prohibitory laws and christian morality. Having fairly answered our friend, let us suppose the condition he assumes occurs in the society his philosophy would inaugurate. One of his organizations makes whiskey for the trade while another, "holding the prohibitionist faith," with an equaly strong police force, concludes to convert it into varnish, what would result? Why, it would be "Dove's friends" and "Sparrow's friends"—"the best cartridges win." When Byington carries conditions into an Anarchist society he will meet trouble every time.

He says, "Anarchism is not a reform of people's habits, characters, or opinions in any respect but the single one of government by force." But what is after all a "government by force"? Is it not simply the reflection of "people's habits, characters and opinions"? If the machinery of government, its courts, police and jails, are to be taken from the general government and given into the hands of Anarchistic organizations, whiskey makers and prohibitionists, all I can say is: "Good Lord, deliver us from Anarchism."

The three factors most prominent in producing war, are monopoly, competition and prohibition. If Anarchism is to retain these, "what Anarchism is not," will be mighty uncertain. But our friend is concerned about the beginning of Communism. "Are you going to wait until everybody believes in Communism?" he asks, and thinks it will be "doomsday" then, perhaps. Well, his philosophy being so much easier to realize, we will let him begin. P. J. Proudhon began, but he was stopped. Does Byington imagine that government is going to allow him to organize his police, appoint his judges, and construct his jails? As a Prohibitionist he would find it of great advantage, and so would Comstock.

When I consider these elements so rampant in society today, I can appreciate the position of an Anarhist speaker who admitted that, should all law and government cease in the city at stroke of 12 o' clock, he would leave the city by the earliest possible train. I think our friend will find that "a reform of people's

habits, characters, and opinions" in a great many respects will have to be brought about before Anarchy can hope to be established. It will certainly have to be "doomsday" for government. I have no hopes of government surrendering its forces to certain organizations. When the people conclude that government is unnecessary they will conclude its machinery is equally unnecessary.

I am not at all concerned about "universal" Communism any more han I am of universal Anarchy or liberty. I have accepted the principle and shall follow its light. I do not propose to compromise that principle for fear of frightening away every inquirer who is unwilling to have that rule applied to his life, only we don't have any "rules" which we would apply. If only our friend would "keep this fact to the front," it would save him lots of conjecture.

Comrade Byington is good enough to say, "You must not kick your neighor into taking care of you when he isn't willing"; but as a Prohibitionist he would kick his neighbor into taking care of himself when he isn't willing.

In conclusion I want to thank Comrade Byington for his evident desire not to misrepresent Anarchist-Communism. Despite his assumed ignorance he knows just what it means. I am also pleased with his term "Commercialist-Anarchist." I think it a fitter and more comprehensive designation than that of "Individualist" or "philosophical Anarchist." As a commercialist he sees the necessity of law and officials to enforce it. But I think our friend Hugo Bilgram more consistent still in advocating the "mutual bank" under government. When the machine of government runs without government, a steam engine may be expected to run without steam. A. L. Ballou.

East Elma, N. Y.

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VERY ENCOURAGING!

Professor David Starr Jordan of Stanford University said recently in a lecture in San Francisco:

The country cannot get rid of the millionaire nor the pauper. Statistics of a large number of paupers in Indianapolis, Ind., showed that they were nearly all related. They all came of good English stock. They or their ancestors had been taken out of pauper homes in Great Britain and sent to this country. They will be paupers under all circumstances. They inherit it.

It is the same with the millionaire. He will always be with us. It is natural for him to accumulate. If you take away from him all his possession you will find him as an overseer of the thing you took from him. You cannot eradicate the poor. It was always "the fool and his money soon parted;" and it will ever be. It is the same with the evils of drink.

If the present economic system is to continue; if woman is still to be denied the right to her own person, the right to motherhood only under law made restrictions; if colleges and college professors are still to be supported at the cost of others; if the people are still to be denied their natural right to the land, and so on, then you are right, President Jordan. Then there is no hope that the race will ever rise out of its degraded condition; then there is no use in trying to stem the tidal waves of evil that flood our earth through and through.

But will this system always last? Does nature herself lie to us? Is she so foolish as to protest against what cannot be changed? Not so. Nature's protests, and also her efforts, are her prophecies. She will not protest against that which cannot be helped; neither will she attempt to go where it is impossible. She does protest through us, her children, against this state of things, and she does, through the same channel, make strenuous efforts to right these wrongs. When we trust "Mother Nature," as we have been taught to trust "Father God," we will make progress in the right direction.

"They or their ancestors had been taken out of pauper homes in Great Britain and sent to this country. They will be paupers under all circumstances. They inherit it." So says Professor Jordan. The biggest fools I find are the wise fools. Those who know they do not know it all are in a condition to l arn. Had the president of Stanford University been born of one of those poor pauper mothers, and had he had no more chance in the world than the children of such mothers usually have, he too would be a pauper.

Suppose Professor Jordan should try an experiment. Suppose he should take half a dozen of those boys that are born to pauperism, as he expresses it, and take them at three years of age and bring them up as if they were his own, giving them all the advantages that his would be likely to have, does he really believe they would become paupers because of the condition o their birth? If so, he has furnished one of the strongest arguments that can be given against children being allowed to be born under such conditions. How can it be helped? There is wealth enough in the world, if rightly applied, to ensure every gestating mother the best of conditions for her work, and it would be cheaper in the end than what now has to be done to care for the badly born.

Mrs. Osgood Willard, who wrote "Sexiology the Science of Life," said some thirty years ago that a nation that would not take care of its mothers ought to perish. No nation as yet has taken care of its mothers, and as those of the past have perished so will the nations of this age perish unless woman asserts herself, declares right to her own person and demands that every gestating mother shall have the best conditions that intelligently applied wealth can give.

Let us look at that university business for a moment. Governor Stanford, having no child to whom he can leave the vast estate that was legally but not morally his, determines to perpetuate his name in that university. He so fixes it that he income shall support the institution, but the principle must never grow less. Now, from whence is that income derived? From the toil of the people. That university is supported by the toilers who cultivate the land that is given to the institution, and by those who produce the wealth elsewhere that is controlled by others, and from which the interest is paid that constitutes a part of that income. Remember, the principle must never grow less.

In what way will the working people be benefitted by that institution? Hundreds of them will sweat and toil for a bare subsistence while the results of that toil will help to perpetuate the name of Leland Stanford. Yes, hundreds of men will thus toil and sweat. Turning to a little book of statistics I find that the Vina estate of 35,000 acres was to be divided into 40 acre farms. Here is a recognition of the landlord and tenant system; 875 farms all to be worked for the benefit of the university; 875 families who should have land of their own, they and their children are servants to that estate the proceeds of which go to perpetuate a false system of economics. I would rather die in the county house than to have wealth to use for such a purpose.

If some of the mothers among those tenants should overwork when they ought to have care and comfort, should feel forced to do so because the use of the land must be paid for, and in thus overworking should rob the coming one of needed strength and the child grow up and become a pauper because thus robbed before birth, I presume that Professor Jordan would look upon it as inevitable. Yes, and so it would be under the present order of things. Struggle away, professor, in your efforts to justify a system that you are not big enough to attack.

But those Indianapolis paupers of whom the professor talks, were the descendants of paupers who came from Great Britain. Several years since, I saw a statement that the annual income of the aristocracy of England was $700,000,000. I have repeated that statement publicly and have never yet heard it disputed. Is it any wonder that England has paupers! When Lady Henry Somerset visited this country a few years ago it was stated by the press that she had hundred thousand tenants on her immense English estates. A hundred thousand tenants, every of which had a better right to the land they cultivated than she had; but government would sustain her right against theirs.

God and government! One protects us, and the other so loved us that he gave his son to die for us. Well, millions of the sons of men have died for God, so I think the debt is more than paid; and as for government, the people have been sacrificed by millions to sustain it, and still it continues to feed upon the masses. Cannibalism is no name for the insatiate maw of government.

Poor Professor Jordan! He has looked over the field of human endeavor for a means of relief, but in vain and with a heartache that it is so, he says: "It can't be helped." Professor, did you ever hear of such a thing as a radical, an entire change? Forever and ever as it now is? That is the language of what you say. "And the smoke of their torment ascended up forever and ever." . . No, no. Humanity is finding out that it is the God of this earth, that what it decrees must come to pass and in its soul center it has decreed that this state of things must cease. The external forces have not yet been brought into line but they will be in time.

Yes, the soul, the love center of humanity is saying in the language of the scripture: "For your covenant with death shall be annulled; your agreement with hell shall not stand; the overflowing scourge shall pass through and shall sweep away your refuge of lies." Don't cry, Professor: there is a better time coming. Lois Waisbrooker.

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GOVERNMENT METHODS.

"The entire proceedings by which it is sought to force me from the Governor's chair," said Taylor, "are arbitrary and without justification, either in law or equity. These proceedings, it is true, are being conducted with all due respect to the formality of law. But it is the mere formality that is respected. The Democrats are in the majority in the Legislature and *can cloak the most unjust and illegal acts under legal forms.* Then they have the sympathy and support of the courts, from the highest to the lowest, almost in everything they attempt to do. Why should not they follow the courses laid down by law under such circumstances?

"How was it in the election? They had the precinct election officers throughout the State; they had the Election Commissioners in almost every county—I might say, every county—of the State, and they had the State Election Commissioners. In every instance when there was a doubt regarding a vote cast for a candidate on the Republican ticket, that vote was thrown out; wherever there was doubt regarding a vote cast for a candidate on the Goebel Democratic ticket, it was counted and not an opportunity was overlooked to take from the Republican ticket or to add to the advantage of the Democratic ticket.

"In spite of all that, when the returns came to be counted by the State Election Commissioners they showed that I was elect d Governor, and my ticket with me. But they have the Legislature and they institute contest proceedings. *The general form of these proceedings is according to law, but there are irregularities connected with them that stamp them as most illegal and tyrannical.* There is no reason why I should give in to these Democrats in the face of these circumstances, and I have no intention of doing so."

This is a good illustration of majority rule. Goebel was assassinated by a shot fired from the government building and, according to reports, from Taylor's private offices and Taylor would not allow a search to be made for the assassin. A governor is only another name for a king. McKinley has been appealed to for help to avoid further bloodshed, and his answer is, to all intents and purposes, Fight it out yourselves. But if Labor were asserting its rights, federal troops would be on hand instantly to murder the toilers.

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Some of those who did their best to elect Phelan, mayor of this city, have publicly expressed their fear that the extra power the new charter puts in the hands of the mayor, is already proving the fact that power will degrade any man, and that the means used to gain place and power are contemptible. Phelan is accused of promising the chief of police plum to Lawrence, editor of the Examiner, for Esola. A mayor is about equal in title to prince, but has more power than a prince.

The only charter good for anyone is *life*—all other charters make life less valuable. The imperial charter, the State charter, the civic charter—all degrade and enslave life, especially the worker's lives, and this is the sole purpose of all charters. Kinghorn-Jones.

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For New York City.

The friend and agent of Free Socity, M. Maisel, 254 Madison St., has purchased a hundred dollars' wotrh of tickets for the performance of the tragedy "Der Juedische Koenig Lear," on March 6 at the Thalia Theatre, the proceeds of which he will contribute to the fund for enlarging Free Society, and therefore kindly asks the comrades to assist him in selling the tickets to the best advantage possible.

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Napoleon Bonaparte said: You must keep the people fighting if you want to keep them in slavery, for leisure gives reflection, and reflection gives disconnt, and discontent gives liberty, and liberty ends slavery.

For Chicago.

A grand ball will be given by the International Workingmen's Group for the benefit of the Jewish weekly, Freie Arbeiter-Stimme and Free Society, March 3, 8 p. m., at the Lessing's Club House, 447 W. Tailor St.

Admission 25 cents. Tickets can be secured from the undersigned.

All friends of our cause are cordially invited.

222 DeKoven St. Chas. Kleinman, Sec.

For Boston.

A Paris Commune commemoration will be held March 18, comrade Voltairine de Cleyre being the speaker. Hour and place will be given later.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

CRITICS CRITICIZED.

May I ask my critic A. L. Ballou what my sentiments are with which he disagrees? I have just glanced over my preface again, and do not see wherein I have expressed any sentiment, save an uncertainty as to Jean Grave's Future Society. It is a good thing to feel an assured conviction, but is there such a thing as assurance in a matter involving so many unknown factors as a social future? Personally I long ago gave up system-building, seeing too many loopholes for authority, and too much of the Social Democratic sin of fashioning a mould on an existing industrial form to fit, nay to cramp, unforeseen developments.

Mr. Ballou says well: "Let us teach Anarchy in its purity and simplicity—the science of self-hood." That is all I would say.

Comrade Holmes, speaking of myself and others, expresses his disapproval of sending for a non-resident of the country to conduct an agitation trip. While extremely sensible to his recognition of me personally, and surely grateful therefor, and while feeling the force of all the arguments that are to be adduced in favor of a native propaganda, experience has taught me to think otherwise. First, one of the most necessary developments of our movement is its internationalization; we in America are by character and condition too much isolated; we are often lamentably ignorant of the world-movement. Contact with our brethren will aid in breaking the barriers. Second, creditable or not, the people are much more likely to be anxious to hear a stranger come among us than one of ourselves;—a touch of the national love of sensationalism perhaps, but true. The American is fond of contrasting himself favorably with the foreigner, insulting him, "kicking him out;" but he is interested in him all the same. Third, the experience we have had in the case of John Turner; never, since the days of the great tragedy, have we had such effective work done by any man or woman, and I feel perfectly sure that none of other speakers will feel aggrieved at this recognition of one who is himself as above jealousy as he is above reproach. It is not that others have been less earnest, or may not in some respects surpass him in attainments; it is that he of all our speakers is most distinguished by that plain good sense, that perfect adaptability to his audience which render him the right man in the right place; this coupled with his practical acquaintance with the Trade Union movement (which none of our other agitators have), his ready wit as a debater, his power of initiative in introducing Anarchism into unpromising soils, make the agitator *par excellence*. I do not know whether it is at all possible to put a man in the field; I am of the opinion that whosoever gets there will need to maintain himself there by his own energy; but if it be, I would say—and with no disparagement to Comrade Morton who I believe will with experience become one of our very best—let us not adopt the protection policy, which would deprive us of a man like Turner.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

CHATS ABOUT CHICAGO.

This city is threatened at the present time with one of the biggest labor fights which it has experienced for several years.

Bradstreet informs the public that living, i. e. everything the people consume, has advanced in price from 25 to 33 per cent, while wages have advanced but 12 to 15 per cent. Maybe the working people have been studying Bradstreet's financial columns and have arrived at the conclusion that McKinley's "wave of prosperity" has struck them on the wrong side. At any rate, the Building Trades Council and the "bosses" have locked horns There are 45,000 mechanics belonging to these trades locked out. The bosses say they are going to bring the unions to their terms, or keep the building industry tied up all summer. The mechanics reply that they are in the fight to a finish. So there you have the situation.

The piano makers were locked out by their bosses some 16 weeks ago because they refused to submit to slavish conditions; they are still out and are making a brave, grand fight. The bosses had it announced through the press with much gusto that all piano factories would be open February 4, and that all their "old hands" were welcome to return to work. But just think: the ungrateful wretches held a meeting in the mean time, and passed a resolution by an unanimous vote to allow the bosses to make their own pianos as well as play them, for the present at least, or until the bosses see fit to recognize the union's just demands.

So you see, the "wave of prosperity" is hitting this city so hard just now that it is a very good place for the workingmen to keep away from.

Comrade Malatesta stopped over in this city on his way to Tampa, Fla., where he is going to do propaganda work among the Spanish cigar makers, and he did some good work among the Italians here. It was my pleasure to have him at my house one night. He filled my ideal of the true propagandist: quiet, self-possessed, more ready to listen than to talk; he looked columns from his keen, deep-set piercing black eyes; he spoke but few words, but these were full of meaning. His sincerity penetrated his listeners and seemed to fill all space which surrounded h m. It is a sad commentary on this cruel society of ours that such men must spend a part of their precious years in prison cells! I trust we shall have Comrade Malatesta in Chicago again, and that a meeting can be arranged for him in English, which language he speaks very well.

It is a pity the meetings which Comrade Morton held in this city were not reported in Free Society; they were well attended and did much good. Comrade Morton is a young man, a good speaker, and an excellent reasoner; in short, an acquistion to our movement that we can well be proud of. LUCY E. PARSONS.

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For Pennsylvania.

All comrades of Western Pennsylvania that are anxious to distribute *Free Society* and the *Freiheit* among their acquaintances, can receive them free from the undersigned by request.

I have also the latest books and pamphlets published in Germany, England and America, for sale. H. Bauer.

Allegheny, 73 Springgarden.

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